

**MASTER  
NEGATIVE  
NO.94-82062-3**

## **COPYRIGHT STATEMENT**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted materials including foreign works under certain conditions. In addition, the United States extends protection to foreign works by means of various international conventions, bilateral agreements, and proclamations.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

The Columbia University Libraries reserve the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

Author:

Gordon, Fred George  
Russ

Title:

The government  
ownership of railways

Place:

Chicago

Date:

[1898]

94-82062-3  
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

BUSINESS  
203  
D13

Gordon, Fred George Russ, 1860-  
The government ownership of railways, by F. G.  
R. Gordon ... Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & co.  
,1898,  
15 p. (Unity library, no. 88.)

Bound with Dague, Robert Addison. A postal  
banking system proposed to prevent bank panics.  
,1899,

RESTRICTIONS ON USE:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm

REDUCTION RATIO: 12:1

IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 5-2-94

INITIALS: CLB

TRACKING #: MSH 01350\* (Bound w/MSH 00375)

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

2.0 mm

1.234567890

2.0 mm

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890

1.5 mm

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890

# PM-MGP 13"x18" METRIC GENERAL PURPOSE TARGET PHOTOGRAPHIC

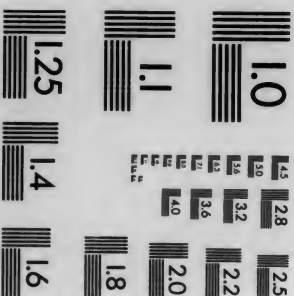


150 mm

100 mm

A5

A4



ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz  
1234567890

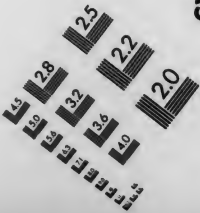
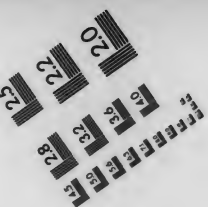
ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz  
1234567890

1.0 mm

1.5 mm

2.0 mm

2.5 mm



## PRECISION<sup>SM</sup> RESOLUTION TARGETS



1303 Geneva Avenue  
St. Paul, MN 55119

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

1234567890

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTUVWXYZ

4.5 mm

# The Government Ownership of Railways

---

By F. G. R. GORDON  
MANCHESTER, N. H.

C - X

---

UNITY LIBRARY, No. 88. MONTHLY, \$3.00 A YEAR. NOVEMBER, 1898  
Entered at the post-office, Chicago, as second-class matter.

---

Extra copies of this issue will be mailed for five cents each, 10 for  
25 cents, 100 for \$2.00



CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
PUBLISHERS OF SOCIAL REFORM LITERATURE  
56 FIFTH AVENUE, CHICAGO

## THE GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS

BY F. G. R. GORDON.

Hon. Edward Atkinson, the noted political economist, estimates that into the cost of every article there is an average expense of 8 per cent for transportation.

Whether the Government—the people—shall own the railroads or the railroads own the people and the Government is a question that will in the near future be discussed in every town, village and hamlet in this country.

The railway is a necessity. The nationalization of railways is a perfectly sound commercial undertaking, and its realization will confer untold blessings and benefits upon the whole people. Within the last quarter of a century the railway system of the United States has assumed vast proportions. The number of miles of railway in operation for 1896 in this country was 179,162.18. The capital stock, funded debt, unfunded debt and current accounts amounted to \$11,670,901,614, truly a gigantic sum. The net earnings for 1895 were \$327,505,242. The business panic which has lasted for the past several years decreased earnings and must be taken into consideration. In 1893 the net earnings were \$364,591,109.

When the history of the construction, management and operation of the railway system of the United States shall be recorded we will have a history of fraud, political corruption and grand larceny against the people.

In the first place the huge deals and illegitimate profits from construction are most appalling. Let me illustrate how we, the people, build their railways. First, a charter is secured, generally by political corruption, for the right of way. The road will cost perhaps \$25,000 a mile to build and equip; it will be capitalized at \$60,000 per mile (average in United States). Trusty agents and subsidized press work up a "patriotic" sentiment in the counties, towns and cities through which the road will be built. As



a result many thousands of dollars in gratuities, valuable land sites for depots, sidings, etc., are given the road. Hundreds of towns, cities and counties are in debt to-day due to such "patriotism." After a railway corporation has secured a charter and everything is ready, its promoters furnish no money whatever to build the road. Some one else does that, and it is accomplished in this way: First, mortgage bonds are issued, placed upon the market and sold for cash. This cash is what buys labor and materials. Another set of bonds is issued to buy rolling stock.

About this time the "owners" think a big lake of water necessary; and the road will be watered up to double its cost. Notwithstanding the fact that our roads are capitalized at over eleven billions of dollars, the honest value is much less than four billions of dollars. The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad in 1869 was capitalized at \$45,000,000. In one year it was watered up to \$90,000,000. "Sound business management" has since added more water, until now the road is capitalized at \$146,000,000.

For the year ended June 30, 1896, the total earnings of this road were \$45,144,967. The operating expenses were \$30,455,570, leaving as net earnings the sum of \$14,689,397. The other great railway systems are just as bad as the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R. Here is the point to look at: The men—the corporations—who first charter and build a railroad furnish very little capital. The railroads of this country have been built on borrowed capital. The railway corporations make the effort to pay, not only dividends on the capital of the road, but also interest on the debt, which the road owes to the bondholders. Here are two sets of dividends; but this does not satisfy our railroad kings, hence they water up the stock to double or quadruple its first cost, and the dear public, which the modern capitalist loves so well, is forced to pay three or four sets of dividends. This getting of something for nothing has made the millions of Gould, Sage, Vanderbilt and others.

That our railroads are in politics every intelligent person knows. They control State Legislatures, Congress and even the courts. The greatest lobby that ever existed is the railroad lobby. If any there be who are disposed to dispute this statement, let them read the following from the New York Board of Trade and Transportation: "That

they—the railroads—control absolutely the Legislatures of a majority of the States of the Union; make and unmake Governors, United States Senators and Congressmen, and under the forms of popular government are practical dictators of the governmental policy of the United States, is not to be questioned. They corrupt our elections, Legislatures and courts." Mr. Jay Gould testified before this commercial body in 1873 that he contributed money to control legislation in four States, and under his management of the Erie road spent one million dollars for bribery in one year. Mr. E. D. Worcester, Treasurer of the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R., testified before the constitutional convention of the State of New York that his road paid the sum of \$205,000 in one year for legislation. Mr. Gowen, the President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, made an argument before the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives on Jan. 27, 1880, in which he said: "I have heard counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, standing in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, threaten that court with the displeasure of his clients if it decided against them."

In their report on railroad corruption in the State of California the grand jury of San Francisco, filed in open court, Dec. 23, 1891, said: "It has debauched both parties until an honest man cannot, without fear of contamination, aspire to political office." The fear that railroads would be in politics under Government ownership sinks into insignificance in the face of multiplied testimony of the political conduct of the roads under private ownership. Many governments own and operate their railroads, and we can find no such instances of dangerous political corruption. The danger is not from Government ownership, but from private ownership. Government ownership has been a success whenever tried, and Government ownership of railroads in this country would take the roads out of politics, with their corrupting and debauching methods. Government ownership would give us freight rates at one-fourth the present charge. It would reduce the hours of nearly a million men to an eight-hour day. It would cease overworking the railroad men and would employ double the number now employed. It would reduce passenger rates to so low a rate that the enjoyment and luxury of travel which the nation would and could enjoy is beyond



calculation. It would save the people the gigantic sum of nearly one billion dollars every year.

To illustrate how the railroads charge all the traffic will bear I point to the following: In the month of March, 1893, a gentleman, whose home is in Middletown, Conn., shipped three carloads of freight from central Florida to New York city. The cars were loaded with potatoes, cabbages and strawberries respectively. The charge for freight on each car was as follows:

Potatoes, \$50; cabbages, \$55; strawberries, \$1,080.

During the past year a large number of fortune seekers have gone to the famous gold region in the Yukon. The struggle for business costs the railroad companies \$20 for every railroad passenger who has journeyed from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. A case in point is the Klondike party of six from Haverhill, Mass. When the daily papers recorded the names of Haverhill fortune seekers they began to be flooded with books, pamphlets and papers, advertising the advantages of the Southern Pacific route, Burlington route, Northern Pacific route, etc. This was followed by a personal visit of six traveling passenger agents representing six trunk lines. They were bright, well-dressed business men. These traveling passenger agents receive an average salary of four dollars a day. Their average expense is fully five dollars a day. They illustrated to the half dozen prospective Haverhill travelers the advantages of their respective roads. It so happened that these six Haverhill passengers went by a different route from that represented by any of the six agents. These agents spent one week in Haverhill at a cost for salaries and expense of more than \$300. All the railroads, big and little, employ traveling passenger agents, and all the great roads maintain palatial offices in all our great cities, with rents from one thousand to ten thousands dollars a year—a clear waste.

The commission system is simply a part of the struggle for business; the advertising waste is also a part of this insane struggle. Under Government ownership this means a saving of more than \$40,000,000 a year. There would be a saving of \$25,000,000 a year by dispensing with presidents' salaries. The saving from consolidation of business, which would mean that we would do our carrying business on the same principle as we now transact our postal busi-

ness, would exceed \$50,000,000. Saving of retained lawyers' fees, \$15,000,000 (estimated). Mr. C. Wood Davis, a practical railroad man, who as auditor of accounts for a large railroad had a most excellent chance to judge, states that one-tenth of the passengers carried ride on a free pass. If this be true nearly 50,000,000 passengers annually ride on a free pass. If we assume that the distance traveled each trip is equivalent to a two-dollar ride, the direct loss to the people from the pass evil is \$100,000,000. From an extensive study of and direct employment on the railroads of the United States, I am convinced that the pass evil is a much more extensive one than is generally imagined. The 40,000 retained attorneys travel on our roads free, but without a written pass. Ten thousand newspapers use several million dollars' worth of mileage books each year (free). Nearly all editors ride on a pass. Saving from hangers-on—officers who only draw their salary—traffic associations, etc., \$25,000,000. Saving from political corruption fund, \$40,000,000 (estimated). Saving from secret rebates to the controlling rings, who are the owners of trusts, \$100,000,000. Saving of the net profits (average), \$350,000,000. For convenience see table:

Saving from struggle for business.....	\$40,000,000
Saving from dispensing with presidents' salaries.....	25,000,000
Saving from consolidation of business.....	50,000,000
Saving from attorneys' fees and expense.....	15,000,000
Saving from pass evil.....	100,000,000
Saving from hangers-on and traffic associations.....	25,000,000
Saving from political corruption fund.....	40,000,000
Saving from rebates to trusts.....	100,000,000
Saving from net profits.....	350,000,000

Grand total.....\$745,000,000

#### THE COST OF ONE MILE OF RAILROAD.

Ex-Governor William Larrabee, of Iowa, gives \$25,000 as a liberal estimate for building and equipping one mile of railroad. An exchange states that an American firm has recently taken a contract to build a line of railroad

in Canada for \$8,000 per mile. Our railroads are only half built; the overworked section hands do the finishing. This is not the case in Europe. There they build the railroads in a scientific and thorough manner. General Leese, of Lincoln, Neb., gives as the cost of one mile of railroad, based on the purchase of the Union Pacific Railway, as follows:

Ninety-five tons steel rails, 60 pounds to the yard, at \$20 per ton.....	\$2,850
2,500 oak ties at 65 cents each.....	1,625
12,800 pounds angle bar joints at 2 1-2 cents.....	320
1,400 pound bolts.....	75
2,500 pounds spikes at 2 1-2 cents.....	63
12,000 yards grading at 15 cents a yard.....	1,800
24 acres of right of way at \$50 per acre.....	1,200
1 mile of engineering at \$200.....	200
1 mile of track laying at \$200.....	200
1,280 rods of fencing at 50 cents per rod.....	640
1 mile of bridging at \$1,000.....	1,000
Cattle guards.....	100
Station houses.....	100
Round houses, machine shops, water tanks and wind mills.....	300
Depot grounds per mile.....	100
Sidings and switch tracks per mile.....	1,025
Grounds for terminal facilities per mile.....	1,000
Equipment, including rolling stock per mile.....	3,000
Depot buildings.....	250
Stock yards.....	40
Coal sheds and machinery for same.....	100

Total for one mile of road.....\$15,988

In a recent lawsuit the Union Pacific proved that the average cost of building the Utah Central was \$7,298.20 per mile. It has been stated that the Missouri Pacific road cost less than \$10,000 per mile. It is self-evident that a double or four-track road can be built much less per mile, relatively, than a single track.

#### ACROSS THE CONTINENT FOR ONE DOLLAR.

By the elimination of profit and waste, a four-track road can be built for an average of \$15,000 per mile. But let

us place the cost of \$20,000 per mile. The distance from Boston to San Francisco is 3,450 miles; a four-track road would be 13,800 miles. To this add 1,200 miles of sidings, and we have a total of 15,000 miles, a total cost of \$300,000,000 for a four-track road across the continent. The cost to operate such a road for one year would be as follows: Wear and tear of road and equipment (10 per cent), \$30,000,000; wages of 150,000 men, at \$4 per day for eight hours' work per day, 365 days in a year, \$219,000,000. This gives the men an annual salary of \$1,460 a year, and as ten men per mile is more than double the number now employed on our railroads, we could give each man a two-weeks' vacation each year. The cost of fuel, oil, etc., would be not over \$10,000,000 a year—a grand total cost of \$259,000,000 annually for expense. Let us estimate the income of such a road.

The average charge for moving a ton of freight 100 miles in this country is a trifle less than one dollar. By reducing freight charges to 25 cents per ton per 100 miles, the increase in business would be tremendous. It is a conservative statement to place the number of freight cars on this road at 150,000. If we average fifteen tons to the car we will transport 2,250,000 tons of freight 10 miles per day, an income of \$562,500 per day. If we reckon 350 days in a year in which freight is transported we have an income from freight of \$194,875,000 each year. Cheap passenger rates always result in a great increase in passenger travel. If we charge at the rate of 3 cents for each 100 miles, or across the continent for one dollar, it would be a low estimate to reckon 150,000,000 passengers a year, or an income from passengers of \$150,000,000. It may here be stated that such rates would more than likely see double this number, or 300,000,000 passengers, carried on this road each year. Such a road would be the main route between the Atlantic and Pacific, and would save to the people more than \$6,000,000 annually. The express business on such a road, with cheap rates, would earn \$4,000,000 annually—a total income of \$354,875,000, and a total net profit of \$95,875,000. Four years of profits would more than pay for the entire 15,000 miles. Let the people once realize the magnificent advantages of a Socialistic railway and the change from railroad ownership of the Government to Government ownership of railroads will

come swift and sure. Let us cross the continent for one dollar.

A practical railroad man has recently declared that a flat rate of 5 cents for passenger fares, regardless of distance traveled in any one direction, would more than pay expenses. The Government has already demonstrated that it is possible to carry and deliver letters at 2 cents. Passengers take care of themselves.

If the reader will carefully investigate what has been accomplished by Government ownership of railroads in other countries an object lesson will be presented, and, as "nothing succeeds like success," it is important that we note the success in this direction. It may be noted that Great Britain and the United States are the only two first-class nations that do not own and operate some of their railways. Great Britain will nationalize her entire railway system in 1905. Already fifty-four governments own and operate 100,000 miles of railroad, and in comparison with private ownership it is proved to have been a great success in every case.

#### THE GERMAN RAILWAYS.

The German government first assumed ownership in 1843, and since 1848 has owned nearly all the railways. The roads are built seemingly for all eternity, the cost of construction being nearly double that in the United States. Some of the reasons for the great cost being—changing watercourses, solid stone bridges, the building of gas works for lighting stations, splendid water service, passing through fortifications, etc. Statistics for the year 1890 show a net profit from operating the roads of \$119,159,147. This was for some 2,300 miles of track. The average passenger fare is .0117 cents per mile, or less than one and one-fifth cents. The fare by means of commutation tickets for third-class travel is at the rate of four miles for 1 cent. Sixty per cent of the German railway passengers travel third class. The total income from passengers for the year 1890 was \$84,976,840.42. Therefore the German government-owned railways could have carried the 426,056,250 passengers absolutely free and still have a net profit of \$34,182,307.09. From 1882 to 1892 the net profit increased 41 per cent, and the wages are

121 per cent higher than under private ownership. The railways cost an average of \$92,085.99 per mile, a sum more than three times what it would cost the government to duplicate them to-day.

Had the German government built all her railway system, saving the profit on construction and the profit on sale of roads, extra interests, etc., she could have reduced her freight and express rates one-half, carried passengers free, increased the wages of the employes \$100 a year and made both ends meet. Capitalists and their paid attorneys and the daily press often use as an argument against Government ownership the lower rates of wages which prevail on the government-owned railways of Europe, as compared to the wages paid on the private-owned railways of this country. We should compare the wage rate under private and public ownership in the same country. There are thirteen men per mile employed on the railways of Germany and only a fraction over four on those of the United States. The government-owned railways average to employ double the number of hands per mile that the private railways employ.

#### THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RAILWAYS.

The Austro-Hungarian empire owns and operates 11,300 miles of railroad and boasts of having the finest railway system in Europe. The roads cost \$93,618.77 per mile. Eleven men per mile are employed. The total income from the operation of these roads in 1898 (last report obtainable) was \$107,714,023.60. Total expense, \$57,256,141.60—\$7,364,104.80 of the expense being funds paid into the sick, aid and pension fund for railway employes. A net profit of over fifty million dollars a year, and this with the cheapest railway fare in Europe. From Budapest to Cronstadt, a distance of 457 miles, the fare, third class, is \$1.53. But in case of agricultural laborers traveling in parties of ten, or workmen in parties of thirty or more, the fare is one-half, or six miles for 1 cent. For several years the Zone system has been in operation, with the result of greatly reduced fares and a great increase in the number of passengers carried and an increase in the net income to the government. The Zone system is divided into sections or belts of distance from Budapest, the center.

The first zone extends a distance of 13.73 miles, each succeeding zone up to the twelfth being seven and one-half miles longer than the zone immediately preceding it, the twelfth and thirteenth zones being 13.73 miles longer than its preceding one. All distances from the thirteenth zone are included in the single and last zone, the fourteenth. Tickets are not sold at so much per mile, but so much per zone, the charges being less from Budapest for each additional zone, thus being a great help to the sparsely settled districts.

#### THE HOLLAND RAILWAYS.

Holland is a small country, having only 12,680 square miles and a population of 4,450,870. No country in the world enjoys such an extent of water navigation, there being more than 5,000 miles. Of the 1,839 miles of railway in Holland the state owns and operates 986. It is only a question of time when Holland will own the entire railway system. Even now she holds that the private-owned roads are, and of right ought to be, public property, and she keeps a sharp eye on them. State railways are much more important per mile than those under private ownership. They transport five-sevenths of the freight and nearly two-thirds of the passengers. The state to a large extent looks after the welfare of the railway workers. They are given houses at from 12 to 20 per cent less than the same houses would rent of private owners. And those who receive the least wages are given fuel free. The state employs the widows of men formerly in the service of the railroad in manufacturing clothing, blankets, etc., for the families. The state railway also has a sick and pension fund. Each worker contributes to this fund, as also does the state. The children of the railway workers are carried free both to the common schools and the distant colleges. At the age of 65 the workers are discharged from service, and a pension during the remainder of their lives is regularly paid them. Just imagine a Sage or a Gould giving their railway slaves a pension!

#### IN AUSTRALIA.

Victoria is one of the most progressive states of Australia. She has a population of nearly 1,250,000. The

railways all belong to the state. The date of government ownership began in 1854, and in 1892 she owned and operated 2,903 miles. In an editorial published Feb. 9, 1890, the San Francisco Chronicle said: "Instead of letting corporations build the railroads and giving land away to induce them to do this, Victoria has kept its land and built its own railways. \* \* \* It will not be many years before the profits on the railroads will pay all the expenses of government." Notwithstanding that the wage rate in Victoria is higher by 30 per cent than in the United States, the railway in the former cost only one-half as much per mile as those of the latter are capitalized at. The people of Victoria enjoy cheap rates for passenger travel, and yet the total income for the year 1892 was \$15,425,610, and the total expenses were \$10,690,695, a net profit of \$4,784,915, or over \$1,648 per mile, and this, too, with rates at one-third of a cent a mile for passenger travel. If our railways had been owned by the people a net profit of \$1,648 per mile would have given us a profit of \$296,480,000, with eight hours' work, and we could ride three miles for 1 cent.

Compared with its population, no country in the world carries so many passengers as the railways of Victoria. Eight hours constitutes a day's work on all the Australian railways.

In all such nations as Victoria, Austro-Hungary, Germany, etc., great attention is given to the adoption of safety devices such as interlocking switches, safe automatic couplings, etc., and all stations and crossings are provided with gates and guarded. In a word the railways of Victoria are operated for the convenience, comfort and safety of railway users and employees.

A rigid examination as to qualifications and character are required from all who enter the railway service of Victoria. All employees who may be disabled or worn out by long service are pensioned by the government.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

New Zealand has a population of some 700,000. Her railways are not only owned by the state, but nearly all were built by the state. The experiment has been a long one, dating back to 1863. The number of miles of rail-

way in operation in 1893 was 1,886. The net profit for the year 1893 was \$2,246,900. The wages of the employees average 30 per cent higher than those paid on the railways of the United States. You can ride thirty miles for 10 cents. The annual profits from the railroads, postal telegraph, telephone and express are sufficient to pay all the federal taxes. Notwithstanding the great extent of the country and its sparse population, first-class service is rendered the people.

New Zealand has made more progress for equal laws and equal opportunities than any other nation in the world.

They have an eight-hour workday with a half holiday in every week, besides six full holidays in the year under full pay.

There is less poverty and misery (per capita) in Victoria than in any other nation in the world. In fact, there has been so much socialistic legislation that there is not a millionaire in New Zealand.

#### THE PACIFIC RAILWAY ROBBERY.

When the full history of the Pacific railroads shall be written the world will read the story of the most gigantic system of railroad piracy ever concocted in the mind of man. The six roads—Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, Central Pacific, Sioux City and Pacific, Central Pacific and Western Pacific—embrace 21,495.05 miles. The total cost was \$95,955,347. They are capitalized, stock and bonds, for \$268,302,462, or 172,347,115 of "water." This does not show the real robbery, as the roads were paid for by the public, and the six Pacific roads cost the band of pirates barely nothing. In fact, the stock paid in was only \$1,797,350. These six roads received aid from the United States in bonds, interest and land grants to the vast sum of \$447,729,470.54. States, towns, cities and counties gave other vast sums, the city of Sacramento giving nearly \$2,000,000.

The reports of these companies show a profit or net earnings of \$278,023,357.63, equal to \$15,000,000 a year. Nearly \$26,000,000, not reckoned in the above earnings, were paid out for subsidies, pools, rebates, overcharges, etc. The Central and Union Pacific have paid to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company over \$4,000,000 to main-

tain high rates. Thus these roads have conspired to maintain an exorbitant rate on both freight and passenger traffic, and have in thirty years robbed the public of millions upon millions.

According to the report of ex-Governor Pattison, "had those roads been built and managed upon honest methods, they could have paid every debt in full, paid dividends on stock and land sales, and have property free from debt to such an amount that each dollar would have yielded \$6.18, and three of these roads could have reduced their charges \$140,000,000 to shippers. The people of the United States have already been robbed of more than \$500,000,000 by these six roads."

These are facts. Compare the question of the public ownership of railways with the petty issues which engage the attention of our alleged statesmen! No party which ignores this issue deserves to receive the support of those who are alive to the importance of this question, and to the imperative necessity of public rather than private ownership of natural monopolies.

Your duty, reader, is to make converts to the principles of the Government ownership of railroads and all other means of distribution. The collective ownership and operation of the iron highways is one step in the direction of the greatest and grandest free republic that is to be.

Every honest effort should be made to spread the light.

---

#### NOTICE.

Those who wish to investigate further or who may be interested in the great cause of Socialism are invited to write to  
F. G. R. GORDON, Manchester, N. H.

---

#### HARD TIMES—CAUSE AND CURE.

A 32-page pamphlet giving a clear explanation of the cause and cure of *hard times*, written by F. G. R. Gordon. Sample copies sent for 3 cents; price per hundred \$1.50.  
Address F. G. R. GORDON, Manchester, N. H.



# **SOCIALISM**

## **UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC**

**By Frederick Engels**

**Translated by  
EDWARD AVELING, D. Sc.**

This little volume is an exact reproduction of the standard English translation of one of the most noteworthy books of the nineteenth century. To Engels scarcely less than to Marx is due the impetus to clear thinking which has placed the Socialism of continental Europe in a commanding position, where it is recognized as the hope of the workers and the terror of the rulers. **SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC** has been translated into the language of every capitalist nation, and wherever it has gone it has been an inspiration.

In America it has thus far been known by the rather expensive edition (imported by Charles Scribner's Sons) from which this edition is reprinted, and by an earlier and somewhat inferior translation, printed in fine type and published without the remarkable introduction written by Engels in 1892 and here presented.

The appendix on the origin of the German Mark has been omitted from the present edition for the reason that the development of agriculture in this country has been so different from that in Europe that this appendix would be more confusing than helpful to the average American reader.



*Pocket Edition, 125 pages, Cloth, 30 cents:  
Paper, 10 cents, postpaid.*

**CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers**  
56 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO

MAY 16 1940

Date Due

 $\frac{6}{2}$ 

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



0032049528

FEB 25 1994

~~AS HOS 5-16~~ NEH

MSH 00375  
MSH 01349  
MSH 01350

MSH 01349

MSH 01350

DEC 27 1937



**END OF  
TITLE**